STUDIES IN GREEK NOUN-FORMATION

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DENTAL TERMINATIONS I. 2

WORDS IN -ᾱs, -ᾱτος AND IN -ης, -ητος
(Exclusive of those in -της, -τητος)

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1. *Verbal adjectives of the type* εὐκρᾱ́ς, προβλής.—Of words in -ᾱs,
-ᾱτος and -ης, -ητος the class of most transparent origin is that in
which τ is added to a root-form ending in ᾱ or η; and with this
must be considered the parallel class of the type ἀγνώς from root-
forms ending in ω.[2]

In Sanskrit a similar addition of *t* is regular in the case of roots
ending in a short vowel, e.g. *viçva-jí-t-* 'all-conquering,' *soma-sút-*
'soma-pressing,' *madhu-kŕ-t-* 'honey-making, bee.' In use and fre-
quency such forms are parallel to what from other kinds of roots
are simply root-stems. Like these, they are most frequent as the
final member of adjective compounds, which may of course be used
substantively. The prevailing force is active, as in the examples
cited; passive force, as in *deva-çru-t-* 'heard by, audible to the gods'
is comparatively rare.[3] Forms with *t* added to a root ending in a
long vowel are unknown in Sanskrit, but a few such occur in Avestan,
as *dāmi-dā-t-* 'creator,' *θraotō-stā-t-* 'situated in the streams,' and
in Latin, as *sacer-dōs, locu-plēs.*

In Greek the formation with -τ- has been largely displaced by
that with -τᾱ-, yielding the numerous class of agent-nouns in

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[1] See Introductory Note, *CP.* 5. 323 ff. For the present article and the next
following, a partial collation of references made some years since by a former pupil,
Mr. Edgar Menk, has also been of service.

[2] Cf. especially Fraenkel, *Gesch. d. griech. Nom. ag. auf -τήρ, -τωρ, -της (-τ-)*
1. 77 ff.

[3] Cf. Whitney, *Skt. Gram.* §§ 383, II, 1147; Wackernagel, *Altind. Gram.* 2. 1. 175;
and especially Reuter *KZ.* 31. 190 ff.

-τᾱς, -της.[1] With a few exceptions,[2] it has survived only after root-forms ending in ᾱ, η, or ω, and belonging to that type which represents a monosyllabic form of dissyllabic bases.[3] The obvious examples are distributed as follows, the figures indicating the number of compounds, which will be cited in full in the word-list:

1. With inherited, general Greek η:
   -βλής (13);   -κλής (1).

2. With inherited ᾱ, Ionic or Attic-Ionic η:
   -κρᾱς (9);   -θνής (5);   -τμής (3);
   -δμής (2);   -κμής (7);   -τρής (2).

3. With ω:
   -βλώς (1);   -βρώς (14);   -στρώς (1);
   -γνώς (3)   -τρώς (1);   -πτώς (1).

The meaning is partly passive, partly active, e.g., ἀστροβλής 'sun-struck,' but ἀσπιδαποβλής 'throwing away the shield'; ἀγνώς usually 'unknown,' but also 'unknowing,' ἡμιβρώς 'half eaten,' but ἀνδροβρώς 'man-eating.' But passive force greatly predominates, in notable contrast to the Sanskrit t-forms. Thus, passive are: all in -κρᾱς, -κλής, -δμής, -τμής, -τρής, -τρώς, -στρώς, most in -βλής, -γνώς, some in -βρώς. Active (transitive) are: ἀσπιδαποβλής, ἀγνώς sometimes, most in -βρώς, also one each in -κμής, -θνής (see below).

[1] The intimate connection of this class with the simple t-formation has been placed beyond question by Fraenkel, *op. cit.* But his explanation of the manner in which the extension to -τᾱ- took place (2. 157 ff = *IF. Anz.* 29. 63) can scarcely be regarded as adequate. The existence of masculines based upon feminine ᾱ-stems (νεανίας, etc.), in which class may still be reckoned a few of those in -της, was probably the chief factor in the transfer.

[2] Namely, a few in -ι-τ-, -κ-τ-, -ρ-τ-, and ν-τ-, which will be discussed later.

[3] Inherited strong-grade forms like πλη- (Lat. *plē-*, Skt. *prā-*), βλη-, γνω- (Lat. *nō-*, Skt. *jñā-*) and weak-grade forms like δμᾱ-, Att.-Ion. δμη-, beside δαμα- (δμᾱτός = Skt. *dāmtá-*), θνᾱ beside θανα-, etc., have contributed alike to what is substantially one type from the Greek point of view and plays a distinct rôle in the verb-system. Whether στρω- (and similarly βρω-, βλω-, etc.) represents a strong-grade form parallel to γνω-, or a weak-grade form with ρω =Lat. *rā* in *strātus* and Skt. *īr* in *stīrṇá*-, according to the view one takes in this disputed question of phonetic correspondence, has no bearing on the function of στρω- in Greek. But this whole type of root-forms is clearly distinguished in its scope in Greek from the originally monosyllabic roots ending in a long vowel, with weak-grade in a short vowel, like those of ἵστημι, τίθημι, δίδωμι. And so also in the derivatives under discusssion. There are no compounds in -στᾱς, -θής, -δώς (but cf. the rare simplex δώς 'gift') parallel to the Avestan forms in -stāt-, -dāt- or Lat. *sacerdōs*, but only -στάτης, -θέτης, -δότης.

Intransitive, like the verbs from which they are derived, are: ἀπτώς 'not falling,' ἀγχιβλώς 'coming near' (Et. M.) most in -θνής, as ἡμιθνής 'half dead,' νεοθνής 'just dead,' λιμοθνής 'dead of hunger,' χειμοθνής 'dead of cold.' So also ἀκμής 'untiring, unwearied,' δου-ρικμής 'afflicted by, slain by the spear,' σιδηροκμής 'slain by the sword,' simply retain the intransitive force of κάμνω 'be wearied, afflicted, etc'; while only the late νεοκμής 'newly wrought,' αὐτοκμής 'self-wrought' are real passives to the secondary transitive use of κάμνω. The rare transitive use of -θνής, -κμής in ἀνδροθνής 'murderous,' Aesch. Ag. 814, and ἀνδροκμής 'man-afflicting, man-slaying,' for which there is no corresponding use of the verbs, arose as a pendant to -θνής 'dead,' -κμής 'afflicted, slain,' under the influence of such parallels as -βρώς 'eating,' beside -βρώς 'eaten.'[1] That is, we have to do here with a semantic back-formation.

The uncompounded βλής, which is quoted from an unknown poet (Hdn. 2. 121. 21) is probably an artificial abstraction from the compounds.

The forms which are regularly substantives are: ἐπιβλής 'bolt,' καταβλής 'bolt' (Hesych.), προβλής 'headland' (Soph.+; in Homer adjective), and συγκλής 'assembly' in Thessalian (συνκλεῖτος γενο-μένας).

Besides these obvious derivatives of this type, the following in -ής (those in -ώς will be discussed elsewhere) are to be mentioned in this connection.

ἀπτής, Inschr. v. Olympia 164 = ἀπτώς, might easily be explained as a transformation of the latter, under the influence of the compounds in -βλής, etc. But more probably it is an independent formation, from πτη- seen in πεπτηώς.[2]

Ἴγνητες (see below, p. 185) is a derivative of γνη- seen in γνήσιος. Another such would be ἑτερόγνης (Hdn. 1. 83. 2), but its authenticity is very doubtful.

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[1] Similarly Fraenkel, Glotta 1. 275. His later interpretation of the use of ἀνδροθνής and ἀνδροκμής, Nom. ag. 1. 81 ff., is possible, but not necessary.

[2] For the graduation in the forms of πίπτω, cf. Meillet, Mém. soc. ling. 13. 44. πτω- belongs properly in the perfect indicative πέπτωκα (cf. ἔρρωγα beside ῥήγνυμι, Dor. ἔωκα beside ἵημι), but spread at the expense of πτη- and became the usual basis of derivation (πτῶμα, πτῶσις). ἀπτής may be a survival of an earlier formation than ἀπτώς.

χερνής is probably a compound of νη- 'spin' (νέω, νήσω), meaning first 'one who spins for daily hire,' 'a handworker,' like χερνῆτις Hom. *Il.* 12. 433, hence 'poor.' Cf. Prellwitz, *Et. Wtb.²*, and Fraenkel, *Nom. ag.* 1. 87.

δασπλής beside δασπλῆτις is probably, like τειχεσιπλήτης, a compound of πλη- (πλᾱ-) seen in πλῆτο to πελάζω. Cf. the most recent discussion by Bechtel *Lexil. Hom.* 94 ff.

θής (from *θάς, cf. Cypr. θᾶτας) belongs to this type according to the derivation suggested by Brugmann, *IF.* 19. 388, namely from *θϝᾱ- (cf. θοός, θύνω). Against this, Fraenkel, *Nom. ag.* 1. 87.

As regards accent, words of this type are regularly oxytone, as in Sanskrit. Instances of a different accent appearing, in the case of a few rare forms, in our texts and lexicons (e.g. in L. and S. ἀγχίβλως, ἀρίγνως, μελίκρας, or in Herodian the doubtful ἑτερόγνης), may be safely dismissed as errors. But τριχόβρωτες Ar. *Ach.* 1111 is generally retained, and perhaps rightly, though Wackernagel, *Gött. Nachr.* 1914. 29, regards this also as "ohne Belang." In contrast to the other compounds in -βρώς, all rare and poetical, this seems to have come into ordinary prose use as a substantive denoting moths, worms, etc. (cf. the Scholia to Ar. *loc. cit*, and Suidas, Pollux, Hesychius). Its substantive use, coupled with the well-known Attic tendency to shift from perispomenon to proparoxytone, may well account for a change of τριχοβρῶτες to τριχόβρωτες.

These words belong distinctively to poetic diction, though a few of them are occasionally employed by prose writers. If we ignore the fifteen which are quotable only from lexicographers, grammarians, and scholiasts, we find that of the remainder thirty-seven occur only in poetry, while nine appear in prose writers, namely, ἀστροβλής Aristot.; κεραυνοβλής Theophr.; ἡμιθνής Thuc., Aesch.; νεοθνής Plato; χειμοθνής Luc.; ἀκμής Paus., Dion. H., Plut.; νεοβρώς Hipp.; ἀτρώς Paus. (4. 8. 5, emendation); ἀπτώς Plato, M. Aurel. The only one occurring in prose inscriptions, and evidently a word of ordinary use, is the substantive συγκλής 'assembly' in Thessalian.

2. *Nouns and adjectives of the type* κέλης, λέβης (ἀργής).—The source of this type is by no means so clear as that of the preceding. The most probable connection is with forms pointing to an IE. -*et*-, that is -*e-t*- with *t* added to thematic verb-stems, as Lat. *teres -etis*,

teges -etis, seges -etis, etc., Skt. *vāghát-, sravát-, vahát-,* and some Celtic and Germanic forms. Cf. Brugmann, *Grd.*² 2. 1. 425. These show the same variety of use as other *t*-formations, comprising feminine abstracts (Skt. *sravát-* 'stream,' *vahát-* 'vehicle,' etc.), verbal adjectives with passive (Lat. *teres* 'rounded off') or active meaning, and *nomina agentis.* It is this last use as seen in Skt. *vāghát-* 'institutor of the sacrifice,' that agrees with that prevailing in Greek. The *-et-* would be preserved in Greek only in Hom. ἀργέτι, ἀργέτα beside ἀργῆτι, ἀργῆτα, and in derivatives like πενέστερος beside πένης. The otherwise regular *-ητ-* would represent a generalization of a strengthened grade *-ēt-,* of which there is some other evidence, as Avest. *fra-čarāt-* 'moving forward.'[1]

Examples of the most distinctive use, namely as *nomina agentis,* are: κέλης 'courser' (but κέληξ in Laconian), πλάνης 'wanderer,' γόης 'howler,' βέρρης· δράπετης Hesych. (to ἔρρω), πένης 'poor man,' to which ἔχης 'man of substance' (*Et. M.*) is a pendant. So also ἑρπής 'shingles' is the disease that 'creeps' (ἔρπω) over the body, and λέβης 'basin, kettle,' though the root connection is unknown, was probably 'receiver' or the like, with the familiar application of *nomina agentis* to utensils as in κρατήρ, Eng. *mixer, boiler,* etc.

After the analogy of words like πένης, and also of χερνής (above, p. 176), were formed secondary derivatives denoting persons of a certain condition. A special group consists of military terms, as κούρητες 'young warriors' from κοῦροι; γυμνής 'light-armed soldier' from γυμνός; ψιλής (Aesch.) from ψιλός, though the latter was commonly used in this specialized sense without change of form; further, *ὁπλής,* implied by Ὁπλῆτες, beside usual ὁπλίτης, and δούρης Hdn.

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[1] According to a totally different view *-ητ-* represents an extension of original *ē*-stems, both in the appellatives and in the proper names. Cf. Bechtel, *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1886. 378 ff., *Personennamen* 23 ff., Schulze, *Ber. Berl. Akad.* 1910. 807 (but the particular etymological combination there asserted is withdrawn *KZ.* 40. 287), Fraenkel, *Nom. ag.* 2. 200, and for the proper names also R. Meister *Ber. Sächs. Ges.* 1909. 8 ff. But there is no respectable evidence for the existence of an IE. class of *ē*-stems. Cf. Sommer, *die idg. įā und įo-Stämme in Baltischen* (*Abh. Sächs. Ges.* 1914) 14. If the status of IE. *ē*-stems was weak enough even with the support of the almost universally recognized class of IE. *įē*-stems, it is doubly precarious, now that the chief foundation for the belief in the latter has been shaken by Sommer's investigation. Furthermore, the stock example to show the extension of an *ē*-stem in Greek, μυκητ-, is not one of the typical words in point of usage, and is not an extension of an *ē*-stem, but of an *ā*-stem (see below, p. 178). For the proper names, see also below, p. 183.

2. 680. 34,[1] which is doubtless quoted from some poet who used it in the sense of 'spearman.' A similar derivative is probably concealed in the obscure Hesychian gloss. δέρμητες· οἱ ἐξ ἐφ' ἡμῶν[2] περισσοί.

From γλοιός 'slippery, knavish' comes γλοίης, used of a vicious horse (Hesych.) or person (Hdn. 2. 680. 16. *Et. M.*). ἀμενής 'weak' gives rise to ἀμένης 'weakling' (Hdn. 2. 684. 3 σημαίνει δὲ τὸ παιδίον διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν μενος). δηλής, δειλῆτος, Hdn. 2. 682. 27, is intended for a similar derivative of δειλός 'cowardly.' λιπερνής in the phrase ὦ λιπερνῆτες πολῖται Archil., copied in Crat. Πυτίνη (cf. Meineke 2. 124), is a transfer from an σ-stem form, if the ancient derivation from ἔρνος (Suidas) is correct, as is probable. ὑψικέρης, Hdn. 2. 683. 39, if genuine is a transfer to this type from the stem ὑψικερᾱτ- (above, p. 26, n. 1), rather than an Ionic form of the same.[3]

The influence of the *nomina agentis* may also be recognized in φάλης (Ar., Theocr.) = φαλλός, and in such rare by-forms of adjectives as δορυσσόης (Soph.) = δορύσσοος, εὐκραιρής (Maxim.) = εὔκραιρος, and πάχης = παχύς (πάχητι Evagr. *H.E.* 4. 7; πάχητες· πλούσιοι, παχεῖς Hesych.; cf. also Suidas, who makes a fictitious differentiation from παχύς, and Tzetz., *Hist.* 9. 304).

The remaining words have no resemblance in use to the preceding, and are mostly of obscure, in part clearly foreign, origin. The τ-inflection is secondary in σής 'moth,' gen. σεός, later σητός (Menand.+); in μύκης 'mushroom,' etc., gen. μύκεω Archil. 46 Bergk (cf. also nom. pl. fem. μύκαι Epich. 155 Kaibel), later μύκητος (Ar.+).

Beside μάσθλης, Lesb. μάσλης 'leather, thong of a whip, etc.' occurs μάσθλη (Hesych.), which may be a blend of ἱμάσθλη with μάστιξ (so Prellwitz, *BzB.* 26. 305). ἄμης, a sort of milk-cake, is of unknown origin. ἀλάβης (cf. *alabetes* Pliny), a fish of the Nile, is of course borrowed. τάπης 'carpet, rug,' is of Persian origin (cf. Mod. Pers. *tāf-tan* 'spin') and probably furnished the model for κάνης 'reed mat' (cf. κάνειον 'reed basket').

ἐσθής 'clothing,' is isolated by its form (ἐσθάς in Pindar) and feminine gender, and is certainly a stranger in the ranks. It is

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[1] But μούρης in the same passage is wholly obscure. Hilgard, Choerob. 1. 161. 6, takes both words as proper names.

[2] The correction to ἐφήβων is probable, but leaves the definition still obscure.

[3] Cf. J. Schmidt, *Pluralbildung* 367.

best explained as an early blend of the rare neuter ἔσ-θος, formed like πλῆ-θος, and a derivative containing the suffix -τᾱτ-, -τητ-.[1]

The accent of all words of this type was originally on the final syllable (of the nominative singular) as uniformly in Sanskrit (vāghát, etc.), and as in the verbal adjectives like προβλής. But in Greek this was shifted to the preceding syllable when short, as in κέλης, πένης, etc.[2] Words with long penult regularly remained oxytone, as ἀργής, ἐσθής, γυμνής, ψιλής, χερνής, but several follow the analogy of the larger class, e.g., κούρης, γλοίης, μάσθλης, if their accentuation is authentic. ἑρπής is so accented by Herodian (2. 682. 24), agreeing with the general rule, but ἕρπης is also common in MSS.

3. *Personal names like* Μένης, Φέρης.—This class of hypocoristic personal names is obviously based upon the appellatives denoting persons, such as πένης, πλάνης, etc. The great majority, constituting the normal type, are names of two syllables in the nominative.[3]

The names include those of (a) heroes of Greek legend, (b) Greek citizens, (c) foreigners.

a) Legendary heroes: Κέλης (Ath. 442a), Τέλης; Φάνης, Φέρης, Μύλης, Μέγης (Hom. acc. -ην beside -ητα), Σέβης, Ὅπλης,[4] Ὑπέρης, Ἡπιάλης (Sophron 70 Kaibel=Hdn. i. 69. 14; or Ἐπιάλης Hdn. i. 69. 13), Ἀφάρης (Hdn. 2. 639. 5, now directly attested by Ἀφάρητα Bacch. 5. 129; cf. also Ἀφαρητίδαι Pind. N. 10. 65 and Ἀφαρητιάδαι Ap. Rhod. 1. 151). The name of the giant Γύγης (=usual Γύης) has gen. Γύγητος according to Hdn. 2. 78. 27.

b) Greek citizens: The type is most prevalent in Attic. Such Athenian names, most of them very common (cf. Kirchner, *Prosopographia Attica*), are: Κράτης, Λάχης, Μάγνης, Μέλης, Μένης, Πάχης,

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[1] So Schwyzer, *IF.* 30. 443. But the assumption that *ϝεσ-τᾱτ- arose by haplology from *ϝεστο-τᾱτ-, as ποτής from *ποτο-τᾱτ-, is not an easy one. Haplology is natural in *ποτοτᾱτ-, but not for *ϝεστοτᾱτ- any more than for μεστότης, ξεστότης, πιστότης, etc.

[2] This change probably originated in the case-forms which had the metrical value ⏑ – ⏑, in which there was a marked tendency to recessive accent. Cf. Vendryes, *Mém. Soc. ling.* 13. 221 ff., Brugmann *IF.* 22. 176.

[3] Exceptions are: Ὑπέρης, Ἀφάρης, Ἡπιάλης, Κεφάλης (Hdn. 1. 69. 14, 2. 684. 1; cf. Boeot. Κεφάλλεις nom. only, and Eretr. Κεφαλήτης), Ἀγέλλης (below, p. 180), Pamph. Μεγάλεις, Ἀγάθεις (below, p. 180). Compounds do not follow this type, which is distinctly hypocoristic, and in Θειομένης Schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 131 the τ-inflection instead of the usual σ-inflection is an intrusion from that of Μένης. But compounds occur in the related Boeotian type, for which see below, p. 182.

[4] The eponym abstracted from the Athenian Ὅπλητες. For Ὅπλης as a man's name in Pisidia, see below, p. 184.

Φάνης, Χάρης, Χρέμης. ᾿Αγγέλης occurs only in the nominative in Attic (*IG*. 2. 2100), but cf. Rhod. gen. ᾿Αγγέλητος (*IG*. 12. 1. 764. 27), while the σ-stem forms seen elsewhere may be secondary (see below, 183). Δράκης, Ar. *Lys*. 254, *Eccl*. 294, occurs elsewhere only in Ael. *Ep*. 4 (Δράκητι). Τρόμης, Dem. *De cor*. 130 is perhaps only the malicious invention of the orator. (To these Athenian names the appropriate dog's name Λάβης Ar. *Wasps* 836 may be appended.)

Many of these Athenian names occur also with more or less frequency in various other dialects, namely Κράτης, Λάχης, Μέλης, Μένης, Φάνης, Χάρης, ᾿Αγγέλης. Cf. also Thess. Φρόνης (gen. Φρό-νε̄τος in a fifth-century inscription, *JHS*. 33. 313), Meg. Τέλης (*IG*. 7. 8–11), Astyp. Φέρης (*IG*. 4. 1418.; 12. 3. 212; 12. 5. 2. 1003), Τύχης of unknown origin (*IG*. 14. 2011), Arc. Πάνης(?),[1] Arg. Τρύγης, and the Pamphylian forms of the originally Phrygian name Μάνης, namely Μάνε̄ς, gen. Μάνε̄τυς (Lancoronski 1. No. 54), in later spelling Μάνεις, gen. Μάνειτυς (*ibid*. Nos. 83, 86, 87), of the otherwise unknown Μεγάλης, namely, nom. Μλειάλε̄, dat. Μλειάλε̄τι (*ibid*. No. 54, later gen. Μεγάλειτυς (*ibid*. No. 75), further gen. Fέκειτους (*ibid*. No. 89; Fέκης otherwise unknown), gen. Ζώfειτους (*ibid*. No. 84; cf. Cypr. Ζώfης, Lesb. Ζώης), ᾿Αγάθεις (*ibid*. No. 83, nom. only, but probably belonging here). Cf. also in literary sources Boeot. Κέβης (Xen., etc.), Γέρης (Strabo, Paus.), Arc. Σμίκρης (Xen.), Acarn. Κύνης (Thuc.), and in Suidas Πόλλης of Aegae, Κόρης, Χέρης, Πάσης.

The fact that these names follow the τ-inflection in the Attic writers and later lexicographers is, of course, not conclusive evidence of their native inflection. And of the numerous examples of τ-forms in dialect inscriptions the great majority are not early enough to preclude the possibility of Attic influence. But the Thessalian

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[1] Only nom. Πανε̄s *IG*. 5. 2. 387, which the editors take as Πανῆs contracted from Πανέας, while R. Meister, *Ber. Sächs. Ges*. 1909. 10 takes as Πάνης. This is more probable, likewise Arg. Τρύγης rather than Τρυγῆς (as editors, *BCH*. 27. 270; 33. 171, thoughtlessly followed in my *Grk. Dial*. No. 82). For while names in -ῆs from -έας are attested from an early period in Ionic and in some of the Doric islands (cf. my *Grk. Dial*. § 42. 2), they are unknown in the Peloponnesus, except for late and obviously imported ῾Ερμῆς, ᾿Απελλῆς, etc. In Arcadian a Πανῆs would stand alone against about eighteen names in -εαs, many occurring with great frequency (e.g. Δαμέαs 18 times). An Arg. Τρυγῆs would stand alone, except for late ῾Ερμῆs, ᾿Απελλῆs, against about a dozen forms in -εαs.

and Pamphylian forms at any rate are beyond suspicion, and as the τ-inflection agrees with that of the legendary names in Homer and in Doric poetry, and furthermore, with that of the appellatives, there is every reason to regard this as the original Greek type, and to accept the τ-forms as normal in all dialects where there is no evidence to the contrary.[1] But in some dialects there is such evidence.

In Ionic inscriptions the τ-inflection is almost unknown, and the few examples are best attributed to Attic influence. Thus from Χάρης we find gen. Χάρητος in *SGDI*. 5692a 34 (about 278 B.C.) and 5437. 6 (second century B.C.), but Χάρεω 5495. 30 (early fifth century B.C.). From Κράτης *SGDI*. 5515 (before 353 B.C.) has gen. Κράτητος l. 48, but Κράτευς l. 15, while Diog. L. 8. 1. 25 has Κράτεω. Other such names show only the vowel inflection, as Φάνης, gen. Φανέω *ibid*. 5515. 10, Eretr. Φάνου Ἀρχ. Ἐφ. 1911. 11 (where also Μένου); Πύρης, gen. Πύρεω 5680 (cf. Πύρητος τοῦ Μιλησίου Athen. 620e), Τέλλης, gen. Τέλλεω Delphin. in Milet 122. II. 59 (cf. Meg. Τέλητος) Πίγρης, gen. Πίγρεω 5727a 28 (a foreign name, but declined as a τ-stem in Attic writers), Κόμης, gen. Κόμεω in Hipp. (cf. Κόμητα *CIG*. 8901, Hdn. 2. 679. 23). So it must be recognized as the normal Ionic practice that names which correspond to Att. Χάρης, etc., follow the analogy of names of the first declension, so that the two classes become indistinguishable.[2]

The statement of Moeris that Θαλῆς is Attic and Θάλης, Θάλητος Hellenistic is an approximately true picture of the literary practice.

[1] Otherwise Fick-Bechtel, *Gr. Personennamen* 23 ff.; R. Meister, *Ber. Sächs. Ges.* 1909. 8 ff. See above, p. 177, and below, p. 183.

[2] A large class of names in -ης is commonly regarded as resulting from contraction of those in -έας, and accordingly accented -ῆς, e.g. Θαλῆς, Ἀπελλῆς, etc., so explained and accented by Herodian 1. 65. 9. This whole assumption is discredited by R. Meister, *Ber. Sächs. Ges.* 1909. 9 ff. But even if we accept the traditional accentuation of Θαλῆς as correct, it is impossible to determine just which names should be classed with it, and the editors' accentuation of many of those occurring in the Ionic inscriptions is necessarily arbitrary (e.g. Σώτης or Σωτῆς ?). The extreme view that all the Ionic forms with vowel declension are perispomena, and that we should accent Χαρῆς because of Χαρεω (so Wilamowitz, *Ber. Berl. Akad.* 1904. 621) is the least likely of all.

Another question of accent, again assuming the correctness of Θαλῆς, is that of the τ-forms employed by later writers. Here we have the authority of Herodian for Θάλης, Θάλητος (2. 683. 10) but also Ποδῆτος (2. 683. 12). It is at best only a matter of convention. The accentuation of the numerous Egyptian proper names in the papyri is a separate question. Cf. Mayser 274 with references.

But the Hellenistic usage simply shows the final absorption of the name into the normal Attic type of Μένης, etc., while the older Attic writers, as well as some of the Hellenistic, retain the Ionic vowel inflection.

In Boeotian there are a few examples of names in -εις, gen. -ειτος (Boeot. ει = Att. η), as Κράτεις, Κράτειτος (*IG.* 7. 1728, 2714), Φάνεις, Φάνειτος (*ibid.* 1752). These are possibly due to Attic influence. At any rate the usual Boeotian type is that with consonant doubling and nominative in -ει or -εις, genitive in -ιος, e.g., nom. Θάλλει and Θάλλεις, Φίλλει and Φίλλεις, Ξέννει, Μέννει, Μνασίλλει, etc. (full list of those in -ει in Sadée, *de Boeot. tit. dial.* 50 ff.), gen. Τέλλιος, Φίλλιος, Ξέννιος, Μνασίλλιος, Τιμόλλιος, etc.

The probable explanation of this type is as follows. The genitive in -ιος (= -εος) was formed after the analogy of σ-stems, just as Κράτευς etc. in various other dialects (below, p. 183). The names now shared in such changes of original σ-stem proper names, under the influence of those of the first declension, as are observed in certain other dialects (cf. my *Greek Dialects* § 108. 2). Hence acc. Δαΐμμειν like Δαμοτέλειν, and the vocative in -ει (for η, cf. Arc. ᾿Ατέλη), which is the probable source of the nominative in -ει and of the consonant doubling throughout. Even in the genitive we find an isolated parallel to Lesb. Μένη, Θεογένη, Cret. ᾿Αλκιμένη, etc., in Τέλλη Θηβαίου in a Delphian inscription (*SGDI.* 2502. 92. 110; cf. Ion. Τέλλεω, above, p. 181).

While the Boeotian type is in its origin, we are convinced, identical with that of Att. Μένης, it spread far beyond its usual limits in the case of the numerous longer names like Μνασίλλει, Εὐνόμμει, ᾿Αθανίκκει, etc.

In Lesbian, where all the examples are late, there are a few instances of τ-inflection, as Μένητος, Κράτητος, Κάμητος (so probably Κ[ά]μιτος *IG.* 12. 2. 532; cf. Καίμμη below) perhaps due to Attic influence. Usually such names show the same inflection as the σ-stem proper names, namely as η-stems following the analogy of ᾱ-stems. Thus gen. Μένη, Φάνη, Τείμη, Καίμμη, Ζώη, are parallel to gen. Θεογένη, Διοφάνη, ᾿Εχεκράτη, etc. Cf. my *Greek Dialects*, § 108. 2 and Hoffmann 2. 548.

In Cyprian there are three genitive forms which in all probability belong to names of the Μένης type, namely Πίγιρεϝο (cf. Πίγρης,

gen. Πίγρητος in Attic writers, Ion. Πίγρεω), Φίλεϝο (cf. Boeot. Φίλλει), and Τιμάσεν. Cf. R. Meister, *Ber. Sächs. Ges.* 1909. 8 ff.; 1911. 25, 37. The ϝ in the last two forms represents the glide sound before *o*, as in Cypr. Τιμοχάριϝος, Corcyr. Τλασίαϝο, etc.; and the genitive formation is parallel to that of the masculine ā-stems (-ε͞υ to the usual Cyprian -ᾱυ, -ε͞[ϝ]ο to its antecedent -ᾱο).

Meister finds in these Cyprian forms confirmation of the view that names like Μένης were originally vowel stems. But for those who are convinced that the τ-inflection is original (see above, p. 177) there is no difficulty in regarding the vowel inflection here, and in Ionic and Lesbian, as secondary, due to the analogy of the masculine ā-stems, just as the vowel inflection of σ-stem names in Lesbian and elsewhere (cf. my *Greek Dialects* § 108. 2) must be so regarded.

Besides the confusion with the vowel declension, as seen in Ionic, Lesbian, Cyprian, and occasionally elsewhere, there is some confusion with σ-stem names in -ης. The transfer to the σ-declension in Boeotian has already been noted. Cf. also Ion. gen. Κράτευς (*SGDI*. 5515. 15), Rhod. Κράτευς (*IG*. 12. 1. 1338), Ther. Κράτους with Attic -ους (*IG*. 12. 3. 659); Ion. gen. 'Αγγέλευς *SGDI*. 5668, Lac. acc. 'Αγγέλη (*IG*. 5. 1. 931), compared with Rhod. 'Αγγέλητος; Rhod. Μάνευς (*SGDI*. 4245, 534), Κότευς (*IG*. 12. 1. 1337), foreign names which also appear with τ-inflection; Lesb. Ζώους (*IG*. 12. 2. 35, etc.) with Att. -ους, contrasted with Ζωη, Pamph. Ζώϝειτους.

The analogy of names in -κλῆς, gen. -κλέους is very often followed by other names in -ης in the papyri and in inscriptions of Asia Minor, e.g., gen. 'Απελλέους to 'Απελλῆς, gen. 'Οπλέους, Μολέους beside "Οπλητος, Μόλητος, etc. Cf. Mayser 281, Crönert 162 ff., Kretschmer 423.

Conversely, vowel stem and σ-stem names sometimes appear in late times with τ-forms, e.g. 'Ερμῆτος *pap. Goodspeed* No. 30, *passim;* 'Ηρακλῆτι *IG*. 14. 1001; 'Απελλῆτος *pap. Ox.* No. 53; Εὐτυχῆτος, *pap. Brit. Mus.* 2. p. 254, 29. Cf. Crönert 162 ff., and also below, p. 186.

c) Names of foreigners: How far the representation by forms of the Μένης type is based upon the presence of *t* in the original names is often not to be determined. But this is clearly the case with those taken from Egyptian, where one of the commonest types

of names is that in -et, as *Beket, Khampet, Menkhet, Phanet,* etc. Aside from those occurring in Greek writers, as Μένδης, Τάγης, Μήνης, the papyri are full of such names, which regularly follow the τ-inflection, but also, very frequently, the analogy of Greek names in -κλῆς. Cf. Mayser 274 and 281.

Asia Minor names which in their Greek transcription follow the τ-inflection, either regularly or occasionally, probably owe this simply to the analogy of Greek names like Μένης, and were originally vowel stems. Such are Trojan Δάρης and Μύνης of Lyrnessus in Homer, Lydian Κάμβλης in Attic writers, and Βάμβλης Hdn. 2. 680. 8, which is also perhaps Lydian, Phrygian Γύης Hdn. 1. 59, 22. Carian and Lycian Πίγρης has gen. Πίγρητος in Attic writers, Ion. Πίγρεω, Cypr. Πίγιρέϝο (above pp. 181, 182), while Πιγρέους (*JHS.* 34. 3. No. 5) shows the late type so frequent in Asia Minor (above p. 181). Μάνης, probably Phrygian (Kretschmer 198), has τ-inflection in Pamphylian (above, p. 180) and in Pisidia (Μάνειτος, also Μανέους, Lancoronski 1. Nos. 91, 150). Μόλης (also written Μώλης), very frequent in inscriptions of Lycia, Pisidia, and Cilicia, has usually Μόλητος, but also Μολέους; cf. Kretschmer 360, and, for Cilicia, Heberdey and Wilhelm, *Reisen in Kilikien* No. 220 (Μόλητος, Μόλητι). Ὅπλης, gen. Ὅπλητος and Ὁπλέους, acc. Ὅπλητα, dat. Ὅπλῃ, in inscriptions of Termessus (cf. Lancoronski 2. Index, *BCH.* 23. 183–86, 292–96), in spite of its Greek appearance, whence the usual transcription with ', is probably only the adaptation of a foreign name. Κότης (Κόττης), found in inscriptions of Pisidia (Κοττέους Lancoronski 2. Nos. 32, 92), etc., passed to Rhodes (gen. Κότευς *IG.* 12. 1. 1337) and its colonies, showing gen. Κότητος at Agrigentum (*IG.* 14. 952). Σύκης, gen. Σύκητος in Pisidia (Lancoronski 2. No. 1). Lycian Τρεμίλης = *Trm̃mili* has gen. Τρεμίλου and Τρεμίλητος according to Hdn. 1. 69. 19.

Βάγης, a Scythian (Iranian) name in inscriptions of the Euxine, usually follows the first declension, but gen. Βάγητος also occurs Latyshev 2. 402. 40. The τ-inflection of Ναρσῆς has no foundation in the Persian form (Justi., *Iran. Namenbuch* 221 ff.). Macedonian Βέρης corresponds to Grk. Φέρης. Φέλλης, name of a king of Tyre, is made to follow the Μένης type by Josephus, *contra Apionem* 1. 123. Μόργης is the eponym abstracted from the Oenotrian Μόργητες.

4. *Ethnica.*—The Rhodian Ἴγνητες (Apoll. Dysc., Hdn., Hesych., Steph. Byz.) were ἰθαγενεῖς (Hdn. 1. 401. 21), οἱ γνήσιοι Ῥόδιοι (Hdn. 2. 678. 9), and the name is from *ἐν-γνητες 'indigenae,' a verbal adjective of the προβλής type (above, p. 175).[1] The name of the Athenian tribe Ὁπλῆτες rests upon an appellative *ὁπλῆτες parallel to γυμνῆτες; and that of the Κουρῆτες of Pharon, there is no good reason to doubt, upon κούρητες.[2] Κρῆτες[3] and Μάγνητες are of unknown origin, very likely pre-Hellenic. The inhabitants of the Boeotian Φαραί were called Φάρητες (Steph. Byz.). The majority of ethnica of this type are foreign. Thus the Libyan Φρῆτες, Aethiopian Νίγρητες, Pisidian Ὁρβλητες (φυλῆς Ὁρβλητος Lancoronski 2. No. 15), Maeotian Τάρπητες, German Νέμητες, Oenotrian Μόργητες, Iberian Κύνητες, Κέρητες, Μίσγητες, Ἐσδητες, Γλῆτες (Τλῆτες is probably an error for the same, cf. Hdn. 1. 402. 5 with footnote) or Ἰγλῆτες (Strabo 166). Τριτωνομένδητες and Καυλομύκητες are inventions of Lucian.

5. *Geographical names.*—The great majority of these are foreign. The one obvious Greek derivative is Plato's name for a river in Hades, Ἀμέλης. There are only a few which designate localities in Greece proper, as Ἄρης, place in Euboea (St. Byz.), Χάρης, river in Argolis (Plut. *Arat.* 28), Μάσης, town in Argolis (Hom.+).[4] Μύης (St.

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[1] Cf. Solmsen, *Beiträge zur griech. Wortforschung* 215; Blinkenberg, *Hermes* 50. 274 ff. The name was probably that which the pre-Dorian inhabitants of Rhodes gave to themselves (so Blinkenberg), and thus the parallelism with Arcadian-Cyprian ἰν- for ἐν- is not accidental. The uncompounded Γνής is less well attested, and probably a fabrication of the grammarians, induced by the relation of Ἐτεόκρητες to Κρῆτες, cf. Blinkenberg.

[2] The recessive accent of Ἴγνητες and Ὁπλῆτες is normal in the proper names. The differentiation between κούρητες and Κουρῆτες, as stated by Herodian (1. 63, 26; 2. 640. 23), is the opposite of what would be expected, and is open to suspicion. Cf. Fraenkel, *Nom. ag.* 2. 200. Besides its ethnic use, Κουρῆτες designates a class of semi-divine beings, and in this sense appears as Κωρῆτες in Cretan (*SGDI.* 5039, 5041, 5075), a form which confirms the connection with κούρητες from κοῦροι (cf. Cret. κώρα = Ion. κούρη). It also denotes a priestly body at Ephesus (*SGDI.* 5589; cf. πρωτοκούρης, *Gr. Insc. Brit. Mus.* 3. 2. p. 319).

[3] With its old compound Ἐτεόκρητες (Hom.+), and the later Νεόκρητες (Polyb.) and ἡμικρῆτες (Lycophron 150, but accent?). Ἔγκρης Hdn. 1. 64. 29; 2. 681. 15 = Choerob. 1. 161. 29 is an error for Ἐτεόκρης. Cf. Lobeck. *Paralip.* 81, and Hilgard, Choerob. *loc. cit.* and 1. 186. 36.

[4] Μάσης from Μάνσης now quotable in an Argive inscription, *Mnemosyne* 44 (1916). 221. 4. The name is very likely of pre-Greek origin, as assumed by Fick, *Vorgriech. Ortsnamen* 71, to whom the earlier Μάνσης was, of course, unknown.

Byz.) is only another form for the usual Μυοῦς in Ionic, and is probably
due to the influence of other Asia Minor names in -ης. Μέλης,
a river near Smyrna, of which Μήλης, ποταμὸς Κολοφῶνος (Hdn. 1.
62. 15; 2. 680. 4), is perhaps only a variant, might be Greek, but
more probably belongs with other Asia Minor names.

Such are: Ἀκέλης, river and town in Lydia (Hdn. 1. 69. 15),
with which Ἀχέλης, river near Smyrna (Schol. Il. 24. 216) is doubt-
less identical; Κάλης, river and town in Bithynia (Κάληξ Thuc. 4. 75;
Κάχης Diod. Sic. 12. 72); Πύδης, river and town in Pisidia, gen.
Πύδητος and Πύδου (Hdn. 2. 639. 19). From other regions: Βέρης
in Thrace, Φάγρης in Paeonia; Ζάμης in Arabia; Μένδης in Egypt;
Τύνης, Σέρβης, Ἀδρύμης, and Νίγρης in Africa; Ἐλέης (Strabo 252;
cf. acc. *Haletem* or *Heletem* Cic.) and Μέμβλης (Lyc. 1083) in Italy;
Καβάρης (Hdn. 2. 684. 1) and Κύρης (Hdn. 1. 63. 25) of unknown
location.

The name of the river Tigris the Greeks took from the Persian
form (OPers. acc. *Tigrām*).[1] Herodotus has Τίγρης, acc. Τίγρην,
while Xenophon, Arrian, Pausanias, etc., have Τίγρης, Τίγρητος,
with transfer to the τ-type. Cf. Πίγρης, gen. Ion. Πίγρεω, but Att.
Πίγρητος (above, p. 184). The form Τίγρις in Strabo, Plutarch,
Ptolemaeus, etc., was favored by the current popular etymology
(cf. Curt. 4. 9. 16), connecting the name with the Persian word for
arrow (Avest. *tigriš*).

The names Λίργης and Βάβρης (Hdn. 2. 680. 14, 22) are doubtless
foreign, but there is nothing to show whether they are geographical
or personal.

6. *Personal names in* -ᾶς, -ᾶτος, *etc.*—The latest extension of the
τ-inflection is to the proper names in -ᾶς, and likewise to those in
-ῆς, -αῦς, -εῦς, -οῦς, -ῶς, which are common in late times and nor-
mally show vowel inflection. Such forms as Μεγᾶς, Μεγᾶτος,
Δωρᾶς, Δωρᾶτος, occur in great numbers in the Egyptian papyri.
Cf. Mayser 253 ff., and, for those in -οῦς, -οῦτος, -ῶς, -ῶτος, etc.,
274 ff. They are nowhere else so frequent, but examples occur also
in inscriptions of Asia Minor, e.g., Pamph. gen. Μελατᾶτυς (Lan-
coronski 1. No. 92), from Cilicia Ἀπολλᾶς, -ῶτος (Heberdey, *Reisen
in Kilikien* p. 76), and from Lycia Ζωσιμᾶς, -ᾶτος, Ζωσιμοῦς, -οῦτος,

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[1] For the various Asiatic forms, cf. Hübschmann, *IF.* 16. 421.

Ἀμαροῦς, -οῦτος, etc.[1]   In Ionic inscriptions such names have assumed the δ-inflection, as Βιτᾶς, -ᾶδος, Ἀγαθοῦς, -οῦδος, etc.   But the τ-forms represent an independent extension, not a phonetic variation.

WORD-LIST

WORDS IN -ᾱς, -ᾱτος AND IN -ης, -ητος

(Exclusive of those in -της, -τητος)[2]

Masculine substantives, unless otherwise indicated

Λάβης [p. 180.
ἀλάβης, ἀλλάβης Strabo [p. 178.
Κέβης [p. 180.
λέβης Hom.+[p. 177.
  ἱπνο- Luc.
Σέβης [p. 179.
Σέρβης [p. 186.
Βάγης [p. 184.
Τάγης [p. 184.
Μέγης [p. 179.
ἀργής, ὁ, ἡ Hom.+[p. 177.
Λίργης [p. 186.
Μόργης [p. 184.
Μόργητες [p. 185.
Μίσγητες [p. 185.
Γύγης [p. 179.
Τρύγης BCH. 33. 171 [p. 180.
Μένδης [pp. 184, 186.
Τριτωνομένδητες [p. 185.
Εσδητες [p. 185.
Ποδῆς [p. 181, n. 2.
Πύδης [p. 186.
Ἐλέης [p. 186.
θής Hom.+[p. 176.

Ἀγάθεις inscr. Pamph., Lancoronski 1. No. 83 [p. 180.
ἐσθής, ἡ Hom.+[p. 178.
Ναίης
γλοίης Hdn., Hesych., Et. M. [p. 178.
Δράκης [p. 180.
(Fέκης), gen. Fέκειτους inscr. Pamph., Lancoronski 1. No. 89 [p. 180.
μύκης (Archil.+), μύκητος Ar.+[p. 178.
Καυλομύκητες [p. 185.
Σύκης inscr. Pisid., Lancoronski 2. No. 1 [p. 184.
(Μεγάλης), gen. Μεγάλειτυς, also nom. Μλειάλε, dat. Μλειάλετι inscr. Pamph., Lancoronski 1. Nos. 54, 75 [p. 180.
Θάλης [p. 181.
Κάλης [p. 186.
Ἐπιάλης = foll.
Ἡπιάλης Sophron 70 Kaibel [p. 179.
φάλης Ar., Theocr. [p. 178.
Κεφάλης [p. 179, n. 3.

[1] Cf. *CIG*. 3. p. 1120; *BCH*. 16. 213 ff.; Schulze, *Berl. phil. Woch.* 1893. 226; Kretschmer *KZ*. 33, 469; Thumb. *Griech. Sprache im Zeitalter des Hellenismus* 232.

[2] Also exclusive of the late type of proper names in -ᾶς, -ᾶτος (cf. above, p. 186); and of those in -ῆς, -ῆτος which represent Egyptian names in the papyri (Mayser 274); further, of some names which show an occasional τ-form in late inscriptions or papyri, as Ἑρμῆς, Ἡρακλῆς, etc. (cf. above, p. 183).

Proper names in -ης which are to be found in Pape's *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen* are usually cited without reference.

The ethnica are given in the plural form, for convenience in distinguishing them, even when the singular is in use, e.g., Κρῆτες, not Κρής.

βλής, ὁ, ἡ   Hdn. [p. 175.
-βλής, ὁ, ἡ, and ὁ   [pp. 174, 175.
    ἀ-   Hom.+
    παρα-   Manetho
    κατα-, ὁ   Hesych.
    ἐπι-, ὁ   Hom.+
    συμ-   Orph. Arg.
    λιθο-   Tzetz.
    Διο-   Schol. Pind.
    κεραυνο-   Theophr.
    ἀσπιδαπο-   Ar.
    προ-   Hom. +
    ἀστρο-   Aristot.
    νιφο-   Anth. P.
    πολυ-   Apoll. Lex. Hom.
Βάμβλης   [p. 184.
Κάμβλης   [p. 184.
Μέμβλης   [p. 186.
Ὀρβλητες   inscr. Pisid. Lancoronski
    2. No. 15 [p. 185.
Γλῆτες, Ἰγλῆτες   [p. 185.
Ἀγγέλης   IG. 12. 1. 764 [pp. 180, 183.
κέλης   Hom.+[p. 177.
    μονο-   epigr. ap. Paus. (μουνο-),
       Tzetz.
    ἐπακτρο-   Aeschin., Aristot.
Κέλης [p. 179.
Ἀκέλης   [p. 186.
Μέλης   [pp. 179, 180, 186.
Ἀμέλης   [p. 185.
Τέλης   [pp. 179, 180, 181.
Ἀχέλης   [p. 186.
δηλής   Hdn. [p. 178.
Μήλης   [p. 186.
μάσθλης, μάσλης   Sappho+[p. 178.
    τροπο-   Luc.
Τρεμίλης   [p. 184.
ψιλής   Aesch. [p. 177.
συγκλής, ἡ   IG. 9. 2. 517. 10 [pp. 175,
    176.
Φέλλης   [p. 184.
Πόλλης   [p. 180.
Μόλης (Μώλης)   [p. 184.
Ὁπλης   [pp. 179, 184.
Ὁπλητες   [pp. 177, 185.
δασπλής   Simon.+[p. 176.

Μύλης   [p. 179.
ἄμης   Ar.+[p. 178.
Ζάμης   [p. 186.
Κάμης   [p. 182.
-δμής, ὁ, ἡ   [p. 174.
    a-   Hom.+
    νεο-   h. Hom.+
Νέμητες   [p. 185.
Χρέμης   [p. 180.
-κμής, ὁ, ἡ   [pp. 174, 175.
    ἀ-   Hom.+
    δουρι-   Aesch.
    νεο-   Nic.
    μεγαλο-   Schol. Aesch.
    ἀνδρο-   Aesch.+
    σιδηρο-   Soph.
    αὐτο-   Opp.
Κόμης   [p. 181.
Τρόμης   [p. 180.
δέρμητες   Hesych. [p. 178.
-τμής, ὁ, ἡ   [p. 174.
    ἡμ-   Manetho, Paul. Sil.
    φλεβο-   Hdn.
    ἰθυ-   Nonn.
Ἀδρύμης   [p. 186.
κάνης   Crates, Plut. [p. 178.
πλάνης   Soph.+[p. 177.
    ψευδο-   Eust.
Μάνης   [pp. 180, 184.
Πάνης   IG. 5. 2. 387 [p. 180.
Φάνης   [pp. 179, 180, 181.
Γνῆτες   [p. 185, n. 1.
Μάγνης   [p. 179.
Μάγνητες   [p. 185.
Ἰγνητες   [p. 185.
ἑτερόγνης   Hdn. [pp. 175, 176.
Μένης   [pp. 179, 180.
ἀμένης   Hdn. [p. 178.
Θειομένης   [p. 179, n. 3.
πένης, ὁ and ὁ, ἡ   Soph.+[p. 177.
    συμ-   Greg. Naz.
    περιεργο-   Hesych.
    νεο-   A.B. 52.
    φιλο-   Jo. Chrys.

-θνής, ὁ, ἡ [pp. 174, 175.
  ἠμι- Ar., Thuc.+
  νεο- Plato
  χειμο- Luc.
  λιμο- Aesch.
  ἀνδρο- Aesch.
γυμνής Tyrtaeus.+[p. 177.
Φρόνης JHS. 33. 313 [p. 180.
λιπερνής, ὁ, ἡ Archil.+[p. 178.
χερνής, ὁ, ἡ Eur.+[p. 176.
Κύνης [p. 180.
Κύνητες [p. 185.
Μύνης [p. 184.
Τύνης [p. 186.
γόης Hdt.+[p. 177.
  ἀρχι- Greg. Naz.
  μισο- Luc. (nom. only)
δορυσσόης, ὁ, ἡ Soph. [p. 178.
τάπης Hom.+[p. 178.
  ἀμφι- Alexis+
  τυλο- Euseb. in Ps. (Th.)
Τάρπητες [p. 185.
ἑρπής Hipp.+[pp. 177, 179.
Ἄρης [p. 185.
Καβάρης [p. 186.
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